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a. The Teachers

861 Nature itself has given a child its parents as teachers; who else would the Yamana have, with their entire tribe broken up into individual families. Aware that they must meet an obligation imposed by nature, the parents instinctively recognize a certain child-rearing ideal toward which their efforts tend. The child should become "a good and useful human being!" That is their watchword, which they repeat again and again. It expresses the double task of the teacher, namely, to form the child in accordance with his spiritual and temperamental nature and to train him for the everyday demands of life. Their first consideration is that everyone must stand on his own feet; hence he must be reared to become an independent personality, able to conduct himself according to rules and to maintain himself singlehanded. Everyone who has reached maturity soon founds a family; he must therefore have the character and manual skills required to maintain this most important and only social institution and to lead it in its significant tasks. Finally, he is a member of a tribal community to which he is all the more bound because it is small, for here any great deviation from the general trend by the individual brings about more perceptible effects on the group as a whole than would be the case in a larger group. The teacher wishes to make his charge capable of meeting all these demands, and that is what he means when he says he wants to make of him "a good and useful human being."

861 The child-rearing ideal proves to be unequivocally moral, and in its application to any given circumstance it is summed up
•183 in the words: "As is customary among us!" The example of their ancestors, custom, and traditional usage are their criteria; if there is any doubt about an act, it is judged and evaluated on the basis of these factors. Hence the teachers find it simple and easy to do justice to their task, for they need only adhere to what has always been regarded as valid and legal, good and fine.

Since everyone stands or falls with the supporting group as a whole, it is vital for him to protect the group's existence with new, properly prepared members who will sooner or later reach

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861 adult status. That is why all older people regard /743/ the
183 training of youth as an obligation, and no one shies away from it out of laziness. The adults influence the young people by means of instruction and admonition, at least by setting a good example, and they are solicitous about their physical well-being and the perfection of their character and morals. No one -- with the exception of a few who are remiss in their duties -- tires of always exerting his best efforts to make the child a valuable member of the tribe, one who will benefit the group as a whole. Since this was always customary among their ancestors, responsible adults now make no exceptions with regard to this duty, for ancient custom is to this day their law.

861 Since Nature herself has established the parents as the first qualified teachers, they devote themselves to their task with all their love and ability. They are guided by their concern for the welfare of their child. Anyone who is skilled in all kinds of manual work can easily make a living, and a person who knows how to behave and adopts a way of life that will make him liked by all his neighbors is in a pleasant position. Parental pride also spurs them on a bit, for it is a great satisfaction to everyone to have his children praised as industrious and good. Less clearly than for the celebration of the youth initiation, but definitely [776] enough, conscientious parents are charged by Hidābyuan, their only deity, with the duty of rearing their children. For primitive people like our Yamana, there is no stronger pressure for efforts at guidance than religious sanction.

Besides the parents, adults in general are required to promote the training of all children, with less urgency, however. If the former neglect their duty or have died, the nearest relatives are obliged to offer the poor child what he needs without any formalities. In fact, every person, whoever he may be, is obliged to give a child help whenever it is needed and to deal with a bad deed wherever he may observe it. No Yamana would say, "This or that child is no concern of mine." He feels an urgent need to help if he sees that a child is suffering physical injury or that its training is being neglected. The individual adult acts on behalf of the child from a feeling of tribal solidarity and in the service of the general welfare. More often than a European realizes, he openly expresses these considerations upon which he acts.

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868 that "girls and boys are required to take part in the work at an early age."

Y. Results of the Training

183 861 Nelly once confessed to me: "Adults worked on a child long enough and forcefully enough to convince themselves that he would become a good and industrious human being!" It can be said without exaggeration that, throughout, the Yamana have fulfilled their general duties and this must be regarded as a favorable result of their training. Although many vicious outside influences have very much undermined the strictness of the old customs, nevertheless, even up to the present time, almost everyone is more or less punctilious about the things he regards as just and good and proper. They are especially concerned that their children should be favorably influenced and well brought up. Although today some mature women tend to be somewhat slovenly, yet the group as a whole puts restrictions on youth now as before in order to make it impossible for them to transgress seriously. The fact that, despite grave hindrances, the youth initiation has not been entirely given up proves better than words how much the seriousness of child-rearing in former times is still preserved to this day.

861 881 If one surveys the individual child-rearing principles that are obviously emphasized in the Cjexaus, he is amazed at their extraordinary soundness. They have been tested during centuries of application and have proved themselves successful for many generations. The parents act as natural educators, and the group as a whole supports them. Love for the child and steadfast patience are virtues which will probably never be lacking among the Fuegians in training their children. Education will always be individual and will aim for the perfection of soul and character in the child, as well as the development of manual skill. Among those much despised Fuegians one would scarcely suspect as much educative wisdom as is revealed in their admonitions, which, moreover, are couched in such brief and concise statements!

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554 Thus our Fuegians lack appointed persons of authority and
571 written laws. Nevertheless, there is a sovereign power, even though it is invisible. As we know, the whole tribe is divided into five definitely demarcated dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/). Each of them is divided into several local groups who in turn occupy smaller regions. Finally, each of these is made up of a few family groups. The /804/ individual family, finally, relies upon itself and enjoys complete independence. It is a family decision to associate more often with some families or more closely with others. Sometimes they travel and spend several days together as a result of a chance meeting. This purely external tie is just as quickly dissolved if another family arrives with whom they choose to associate. The above-mentioned tiámuna sometimes makes arrangements with the tiámuna of another group of families to bring together a larger number for a definite purpose. These are always free decisions, however, and there is no outside pressure. Fluent speech and a faculty for quick persuasion are usually the only decisive factors.

571 Such an arrangement is made for the initiation ceremony,
881 the men's ceremony, or common burial rites. Everyone knows the universal obligation of young people to take part in the initiation ceremony. It is the duty of the adults to create the opportunity for it, and certain influential people are moved to hold it, all depending on the circumstances. The fact that the general public safeguards that important institution and does not let any young person suffer the loss of its advantages must be unequivocally interpreted as an effect of the invisible but mighty compulsion of the power of the state (p. 640).

•183 If anyone is repeatedly guilty of serious violations against
626 the prevailing customs and causes apparent harm to a number of persons by doing so, nothing happens for a while, but then a close relative of the transgressor will arouse himself and, referring to the opinion of others, will appeal to his conscience. They do not even stop at a fight and care nothing about protecting their own lives, since they put greater value on respect for the existing order. Thus again an invisible power of the state sees to it that laws are kept pure and respected. When famine breaks out in a local group and a whale is driven ashore somewhere, an unwritten law goes into effect which does away with the narrower boundaries of intercourse

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183 and opens free passage to the spot where everyone can generously
626 help himself.

To be sure, these are all modest beginnings of an active state power, but the latter is in effect, even in that completely unorganized community of people, and makes itself felt, although always to the advantage of the individual and in the service of the family, thereby guaranteeing the undiminished continuance of the group as a whole. This still invisible power does not even remotely pursue an end in itself.

183 In complete contrast to the veiled existence of the state in
554 this society, the freedom of the individual shines forth brightly. A person who has attained physical maturity, married, and left the parental hut stands on his own feet, is responsible to no one, and has no master. Within the wide margins set by the law of usage and ancient custom, he conducts himself /805/ as he sees fit, divides up his time as he pleases, provides himself with food and tools as he feels inclined, and uses and disposes of them according to his own free judgment. A person is warned only if he is flagrantly guilty of repeatedly or constantly harming other fellow-tribesmen, as we have shown above.

511 Ordinarily no one dares issue definite orders or make demands
156 on other people, whether or not he is justified or obliged to do so. Thus, a wife will not admonish her husband to go forth to hunt, even though she and her children may have to suffer hunger for a long time. Even to this extent these Indians would not allow themselves to make demands or issue orders to a specific person. This was often observed. If I ordered a man to demand some service of another in my name he listened to my words and departed, but he returned shortly thereafter without having spoken to the other man and gave me to understand that I should personally give my instructions to the one concerned. In this way each person guards the other's freedom, and he also would not allow his own freedom to be curtailed (237).

237. The missionaries have had many experiences in this connection, for instance, when they provided a sort of supervisor for community work. "To be placed as overseer

/805 cont./

brought on at once a native jealousy and dislike. The office, therefore, was not popular, and generally destitute of authority, and fulfilled with laxity of purpose" /cited in English/. The natural inclination of these Indians is such that "they cannot bear to be dictated to" /cited in English/, as Bridges (VP:XIII, 209; 1866 tersely and definitely expresses himself.

In spite of the far-reaching independence and freedom that each individual enjoys, the conduct of affairs in this Fuegian group is orderly and peaceful, although there are neither lawfully appointed persons of authority nor written statutes. The community life of all fellow-tribesmen is so secure that they can pursue their food-gathering unmolested and devote themselves undisturbed to their family life, to their own happiness, and to the welfare of all. Every true Yamana carries in his heart the one important law which was indelibly impressed upon him during the youth initiation and which constitutes the unwavering rule of conduct throughout life: to be a good and useful member of the tribe!

D. Youth Initiation

The Yamana are fully aware of their natural duty to educate the growing generation. Parents above all make an effort for their own children and do this with a seriousness not shown by many other peoples. The offspring is taken care of from its earliest childhood (p. 484). While it is growing up, the father's influence on the boy and the mother's on the girl gradually take on more specific forms and more definite goals. The adults /806/ make it possible for young people to achieve practical competence and a certain measure of skills, but also, beyond that, spiritual enrichment and a mental attitude toward the ideal of a perfect Yamana who can serve as a model (p. 552). The parental task is to rear their own children to a certain level of moral and practical development at maturity.

As though the society were not satisfied with these achievements in training, which without doubt are attained in all families,

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643 On the basis of population, the Yamana were and are a small nation. In spite of everything, they lack a common head, whether we mean by this a person who through heredity or election is provided with special sovereign power, or one who has earned a dominant position as a result of sacerdotal or sorcerous activity, or one who is superior to his nearest kin, such as the first-born of a patriarchal extended family. /1001/ The influence which a tíámuna occasionally achieves is a certain moral prerogative resulting from personal virtues.

631 Again, it was the given geographical facts which divided the country of the Yamana into five districts and, on the basis of this, the people as a whole into five tribal groups (p. 199 /untranslated/). Since these groups live more or less strictly apart from one another, certain peculiarities of speech and living habits have developed in the course of time. These are the factors which easily and naturally distinguish each group. Obviously this tribal division is purely external because it is spatially conditioned. Within each of the five large dialect groups geographical conditions have brought about further division into local groups (p. 629) which, in turn, are made up of a few kinship groups. The relations of the individual families in each of the latter are very close and firm; these families regularly and frequently have social intercourse with one another.

•183 The above-mentioned organization of the Yamana people as a whole is a loose one and largely external, since unification under a common head is lacking. Nevertheless, fixed rules, with unavoidable obligations for everyone, determine the social intercourse of the divisions mentioned and of individual persons. They ensure coexistence without friction and a well-ordered social life. In an extremely simple society like that of our Yamana one might find it astonishing that there are certain arrangements to regulate intercourse with others, and, even more surprising, that they have subjective value and are successful and dependable. They guarantee, above all, the stability of the individual family and the harmonious coexistence of its members. Their vital significance stems from the fact that the unity of the whole ethnic group rests on the individual family as the single definitely determined social structure. They therefore protect and support many thoroughly effective general rules.

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●183 Besides that, the great mass of people are led and ruled by unwritten laws which, in a word, can be designated as the demands of the traditional law of custom. Every adult knows it and is thoroughly familiar with it; the younger generation learns it in the family and in everyday association, as well as quite purposefully in the indispensable youth initiation (p. 717). The wiser and more influential old men regard it as their particular task to insist,over and over again and on suitable occasions, on the observance of traditional customs and on keeping their exact meaning unchanged and uncorrupted.

While this, directly and indirectly, ensures the common welfare, there are, in addition, specific rules of conduct for the general populace and for a larger group in the case of a specific misfortune of an individual. No matter how loosely these Fuegians /1002/ are held together as a people, they know that they are obliged to lend effective aid in case one of their members is in any kind of danger. On the basis of this they have developed rules for a kind of assistance that approximates a general welfare service for the needy and helpless. Earnest scrutiny shows that such things are not lacking in the extremely simple social order of the Yamana.

These many rules and regulations direct the individual in his conduct toward others and bind the people as a whole to certain needs and demands. They were not developed and are not observed merely for their own sake; rather, they clearly aim toward the personal safety of every member of the group and toward a peaceful existence of the whole. They have a power that dominates all members of the tribe and that, without exception and with a view to the well-being of society, binds everyone. This is nothing less than a power of state, although still modest in form. Even though it is unimpressive and its action has not yet been set forth in written formulas, it has at least held together in social amity the individual members of the widely scattered Yamana tribe and guaranteed the individual, as well as the society, an existence worthy of human beings within the possibilities offered by the environment (p.910).

In the following account we shall not discuss each and every thing that serves the common weal and that may be regarded

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• 183 as public welfare, for this would, after all, include the mutual relatives and members of the local dialect group, as well as the many precepts pertaining to the youth initiation (p. 717) and the menarche (p. 571). We shall list only the rules for social intercourse and the duties toward the needy which have not yet been mentioned in the preceding sections.

a. Custom and Justice

It would have been impossible for the Yamana people as a whole to have perpetuated itself as a vital entity if it had not been directed and unified by an all-embracing social order. The prevailing laws are nowhere to be found in writing, but they operate with relentless urgency as vital forces. Their success is obvious. The relations of individuals to one another and to the society as a whole disclose a balanced harmony (426); everyone feels com-

> 426. It is inconceivable to me how Bridges (MM:IX, 218;1875) could write, on April 21, 1875, that "horrible looseness prevails through everything. No discipline, no order, no agreements or arrangements; hap-hazard, confusion, 'happy-go-lucky,' these are the usages of Fireland life. A general absence of confidence, faithfulness, and love is everywhere apparent. There is a great show of friendship, but little sincerity" /cited in English/.

pletely safe in his common nationality /1003/ and knows that he is protected against possible dangers from other tribesmen. As a matter of fact, order prevails, which, in short, means that everyone in his attitude toward life completely submits to the recognized regulations, and that disobedience of any kind is exceptional and is always censured and punished.

These laws, or, as the Yamana themselves express it, "the traditional custom," are universally binding. Only in this way can they ensure the peaceful coexistence of all tribal members

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183 within a common society. As a matter of principle, no one claims an exemption for himself. If in some situation he occasionally lets himself be led astray from the path of recognized duty by passion or by the weakness of his nature, he himself clearly feels that he has made a mistake and is doing wrong. The disapproval of his wrong-doing by the members of the tribe who learn about it also has a definite effect on him. Naturally, certain regulations apply to every age and sex, without exception, others only to children or adults, man or woman. No one, no matter what the situation, would, by word or action, presume to intimate to others that some custom which everyone in his position observes has no meaning for him and does not obligate him. Such behavior would make it impossible for him to live in Yamana society. Quite the contrary, as we shall soon show, everyone is anxious to avoid any suspicion that he, on occasion or as a matter of principle, disdains any law of custom whatever.

183 The Yamana can justify this inescapable pressure on everyone by referring to Watauineiwa, their only deity. Their whole 776 body of custom, so to speak, embraces the true moral law in the narrower sense of the term, as well as all obligations for social coexistence and for the individual toward himself, in the widest sense of the term. The Fuegian has a general formula with which he derives this, his body of custom, that is to say, all the principles and guides practiced, from his deity as the ultimate source; he says: "Watauineiwa wants everyone to be a good human being! -- Watauineiwa wants it that way [as custom has hitherto decreed]; he watches carefully to see whether everyone is acting accordingly!" He does not remember his lawgiver on the occasion of every single act, which would be superhuman, but this general formula remains in his subconscious and at times he is very definitely openly conscious of it. Just as this deity remains the same and has in no way and at no time changed the obligations once set forth, so these obligations endure in unmitigated strictness and retain their unchanging character through all generations. For the Yamana the terse, definite wording above gives /1004/ the ultimate source and universal duty, embracing all times and persons, toward every kind of valid obligation. Further details will be given in the section on the actual moral law.

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183 Thus, in everyday reality the sole guide, the established norm of life, consists of the prevailing customs, the tradition of the ancestors, the conduct of former generations. Old and young take this so much for granted that it seems to have become second nature to them. It is neither criticized nor resented, never attacked nor altered. Everything characterized as ancient custom is regarded as legal and therefore binding; whatever is contrary to it is universally condemned as unjust or improper.

Everyone pays great respect to traditional custom for its own sake and as a compulsory expression of the will of Watauneiwa. Certain institutions, such as the ciexaus, kina, and loima, are cherished with exceptional care; other customs, such as the instructions for girls at the menarche (p. 571) and sharing of spoils brought home from hunting (p. 314), are cultivated with great conscientiousness. Everyone accepts his individual obligation as fact and yields without contradiction; it suffices for him to know that this or that has always been accepted among the Yamana, which is enough to make it binding for him, too, under like circumstances. It is the oldest persons of any group who, of their own accord, feel the greatest urge to follow exactly along the lines of ancient custom in their personal conduct. They are clearly aware of their duty to set a good example for the younger age levels, since this is more impressive than words. As often as there is an opportunity on public occasions and in private exchanges, they demand strict observance of the traditional order and good ancient custom. They also admonish anyone who in any particular point becomes negligent toward universal custom. Several men will even confer among themselves to see how they can stem the increasing offenses of a younger member of the tribe, with severity, if need be. Everything that was handed down by their forefathers is much too sacred to them to have it destroyed, even in small part, by thoughtless young people.

183 In this attitude their sound judgment concerning the value of the good things of old is a contributory factor. The group of young people cannot yet appreciate this value, but the old people are absolutely convinced of it and therefore base upon it alone the firm continuance of their society and the contented existence of the individual. Many an old Fuegian emphatically told me, "If our forefathers found all our institutions good, why should they not be just as advantageous for us!" Their rigid adherence to traditional

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183 custom is based on the tested experience of generations. They interpret every deviation from it, no matter how small, almost /1005/ instinctively as disadvantageous and harmful for their society. This judgment may rest to a considerable extent on the balanced harmony between their needs and their environment. It has been shown that they have adjusted in the best possible way to the vital demands of their homeland and have identified themselves so well with it that other wishes and needs do not arise, so to speak.

177 183 182 This rigid, inflexible attitude of self-contained ethnic unity at first excluded all the innovations that reached the Yamana from contact with European culture. Gradually a few raw materials and objects that seemed advantageous to them, iron, for example, came into their possession, but even the strong and continuous influence of the Anglican mission has been unable to change anything in their social order and their spirit world (p. 324 /untranslated/). It is only in the last few decades that Indian culture has been torn asunder and more than once harshly oppressed by foreign settlers. After that it was impossible to continue to live according to ancient custom, and the doom of our tribe was sealed. Many old men and women who had had the good fortune to grow up amid the unadulterated customs of their people were obliged, with tears in their eyes, to see the acceleration of this fateful grievous devastation. Their bitterest laments were unable to exorcise the evil. They frankly stated that, with the initial relaxation of the strict custom of former times, the disintegration of the people as a whole began.

183 626 Among the more general fundamental considerations pertaining to the value of traditional customs, the personal sense of honor is, in practice, still strong in its effect. No one wants to be regarded as an inferior member of the tribe, as disloyal to the customs of his fathers, as indolent and negligent, as quarrelsome and selfish. On various occasions the ideal image of the "genuine, proper Yamana" is very clearly unfurled, everyone sees it spread out before him in all its details and in bright colors. A person who deviates consciously or habitually from this ideal displays a considerable degree of wickedness and inner corruption of which he himself is aware, as well as his entire neighborhood. The disgrace

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183 626 is too profound, the infamy too humiliating for anyone to bear any length of time if he finds himself shunned and rejected by many persons as disloyal to ancient custom! Ambition, self-love, and the desire to be esteemed among his fellow-tribesmen soon force every delinquent back on the path of universally observed proper habits. For the Yamana this is the strongest motive forcing them to a way of life which is as blameless as possible, according to the example of their fathers. Not even the prospect of punishment by Watauinéiwa is as directly effective as a person's ambition to be regarded as a true Yamana by his fellow-tribesmen.

Everyone knows only too well how carefully he is being watched by all the people of his immediate /1006/ and more distant surroundings, how very much in detail his conduct, even in minor, unimportant matters, is discussed and judged by others. Sooner or later everyone learns clearly and definitely how everyone else feels about him and how they evaluate his conduct. The individual succeeds in swaying public opinion in his favor only by absolute, continuous rectitude, in accordance with prevailing customs. Thus a person's concern about his own good reputation (427)

427. In this respect our Yamana are exactly like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 463). Compare Gusinde (1):160.

is much more effective in forcing him to observe the customs of the ancestors than, for example, the threat of police or written laws. Anyone who habitually deviates from the good ways of old loses all esteem and value in the eyes of the people.

b. Social Intercourse

156 577 Since every Yamana consciously desires to count for something among his fellow-tribesmen and to be spoken of in terms of praise, he tries to accomplish these ends by his mere appearance and manners. He quite obviously makes an effort to be tactful toward everyone and to offend no one; he is anxiously concerned about his whole outward appearance. He is particularly careful to avoid open hostility with anyone, for he might suddenly, by the

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c. The Commonweal

627 The Yamana are linked together in a definitely circumscribed area by a common language and a uniform way of life, but as a whole they are not under the administration of an authoritative person (p. 906), nor are the various groups, large or small, led by a chief (p. 602). In reality there are a number of strong but invisible forces which command with coercive force and which without doubt must be deemed a supreme power. This imposes order upon relationships which lie outside the organization of the sole social structure, the family, and for which the public, so to speak, is responsible. In this category belong the administration of justice and many obligations or customs which have already been discussed. The public itself is responsible for the enforcement of individual regulations and vigilantly backs them.

1. Rules of Justice

183 627 The coherence of our Fuegian society is possible only on the basis of a conception of justice which protects each person and at the same time obligates him, both in an effective manner. Everyone retains his personal freedom and a far-reaching independence, but, along with these, there are also many obligations anchored in universal justice. One must not underestimate their number; moreover, like a net, they encompass all relationships. For example, these obligations determine the everyday life of the man and woman, the mutual relations of husband and wife, parents and children, closest relatives, local groups, and dialect groups, the public education of young people outside the family in the čiexaus, and the further education of boys in the kina; they secure material possessions and personal safety from any kind of danger. This system of justice is not written, and no one can boast of being permitted to administer it. It simply exists and is supported by the public, which sustains justice and guards against its being altered. Expressed in a few general formulas, it is traced back to Watauineiwa as its source, which determines its immutability and its binding force.